BY E. P. WALTON & SON.

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VERMONT VINDICATED.

SPEECH OF MR. PHELPS, OF VENNONT,

On the subject of Slavery, &c. IN THE U. S. SENATE, JANUARY 23, 1859.

The Senate having resumed the consid- sincerity of their professions, were sometime since presented by Mr. Ur-

Life here a such Senators englit not to have forgonen. It is but a few months since, in excuse, if you please, or in sentiments this day of the free States, and the situation where I now stand, I advocation (if you please to use the term,) if an apology be necessary on their part for ted the necessary and their part for Seanter from Seath Carolina. I allude in the territorial half reported by the select commutes, commonly called the Clayton compronice. The honorable Seanter from Seath Carolina the other day pron uncode that half superficiency to the South. His expression was, that it was "framed to save the made, consistent with their particles their expression here, it is to be found in the fact that the language is that of a distinction.

I report, we all telt the face of this artendation (if you please to use the term,) if an applogy be necessary on their part for the reports their expression here, it is to be found in the fact that the language is that of a distinction.

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I report, we all telt the face of this artendation (if you please the true,) if an applogy be necessary on their part for their expression here, it is to be found in the fact that the language is that of a distinction.

I report, we all telt the face of this artendation (if you please the face of the sound in the face of the search of the face of the sound in the face of the search of the face of the sound in the face of the pression was, that it was "framed to save altion can be made consistent with their the people that these liberties are the gift of the honor of the South." I sustained that safety. I have ever felt the force of this God! That they are not to be violated but bill; and under what circumstances! Sir, argument. And what say the resolutions? with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my I knew from the outset the position I was about to take in concenting to be a member of that committee. I knew that it was not enviable but a peribuse position. I knew well the deficulty of reconciling the excited feelings of different sections of this counting the excited feelings of different sections of the concentration of the concentratio feelings of different sections of the danger of the proposition in its terms is unquestionally any concession with a view to compromise. I knew, sir, the temper of the proper of the pr might have gone further, and when the bill partition upon them. It was with this view maticism. Transplanted from the soil of was reported I might have consulted my that I hazarded the remark which I then Virginia to the free soil of the North, these own popularity by going with my friends of considered and now consider rather as a semiments, which at one time did henor to the North, and in following the crowd in common place one, without the slightest the lead and the heart of the nuther, have denomining the creature of our own creation of what the Sention Sir, it was not unanticipated that, in But sir, does the assertion need proof!— probably is an illustration of what the Sention of what the Sention of the South, the subject research of the South, tion Sir, it was not unanticipated that, in Does the opinion that the institution is in- after from Michigan (Mr. Cass) calls the consequence of my course upon that fall, Does the opinion that the institution is in- after from Michigan (Mr. Cass) calls the who is the offender? Why, sir, Mr. Jefferson, the original projector, and the repmy name should be associated with terms of consistent with the dictates of humanity progress of the age-of progress in morality reproach; that opprobrium, personality, and sir, I may add, personal insult should be Sir, what has been the opinion, and what thus attered in the very heart of the counenced by higher and better motives than the mere love of popularity. I had a duty to and best men of the South? What lan- own country, his own people, and of the perform here: I desired to see this trouble- guage have they held, and what has the civ- world-when repeated by some and dangerous question settled; and in the discharge of that duty, I came boldly subject? Why, sir, if we look abroad we terms, become "fanaticism." to the vindication of that bull, while it was denounced by the almost quanimous voice find the opinion of the civilized nations of Europe expressed by their acts. Great Brit- brand has Congress put upon this instituof the North, and I may add by the almost ain has put an end to the institution : France tion ? Sir, at the very outset of our legisunanamous voice of my own constituency. I stood alone of all the people of the North first acts of the French Republic-I speak ken up. As early as 1794, although the

of harmonizing this Union and of putting ulation, and sympathy, and approbation public pretensions, I would have considered remark which I thought proper to make on place themselves in the gap between the sympathising, and to whom we were extenddisregarding the excitement of the moment, bout which my humble constituents were

Sir, one object I have in addressing the it, if it is put under your table. But

here, sir, her its difficulty and its danger - sidered that these resolutions cast no impusington, of Madison, and of Jefferson I approach it with an ardent attachment to the constitution and with the expression. But these resolutions meretaken with an ardent attachment to the constitution and with the expression. But these resolutions meretaken with an ardent attachment to the constitution and with the expression. But these resolutions meretaken with the expression with the constitution. Mr. I felfers ut tells us:

"During the regal Government we had only the regal Government we had only the regal Government we had only the determination of slaves, as one time obtained a law which imposed it with the constitution of the constitution. Mr. I felfers ut tells us:

"During the regal Government we had one time obtained a law which imposed it with the expression with the constitution of the constitution. Mr. I felfers ut tells us:

"During the regal Government we had one time many considerations, some of them of great imagnitude, pressing upon me not to depart in the least from what I consider a real and dispusationate and rational consideration of the questions.

So, we are all attacked to the Union; we all value the harmony and stability of that Union; and no to pie which tends to endure the dispusation of the pression of the pressio

Union; and no topic which tends to endanger either, should, in the judgment, be discussed here in larger.

Sur, these professions may be doubted.—

My professions the other day been not to have carried with them the most implicit confidence on the part of some gentlemen.

Sur, if proof were warning of the succerny of my professions on this subject, it is to be found in the fastory of my public life.—

There are possible, Sur, I respectively not to be succeed in getting the royal assent to a renew-indicated by gendlement and the daty. In the very first session beld under the republican Government, the Assistance of the South that its existence in the success of the success, and second, on the ground that its existence in this proposition of slaves. This will in some measure stop the increase of lieng a matter of incorposition energy, they the ground that its existence in the proposition of the success of the

Bur, sir, I trust I was influ-r and better motives than the What has been the language of the ablest Mr. Jeffetson with the approbation of his thized world at large said and done on this stituency, in less pointed and less vigorous —I followed the dictates of my own judgof it as it is existing now—was the abolition of this institution totally, universally,
absolutely, without reservation and without were passed against carrying on the foreign

sacrifice in order to attain the great object themen forgotten the resolutions of congratagitates and alarms us. If that object could France immediately after her late revoluwill breast themselves to the storm of popu- not even permitted to talk? Yes, sir, the lar prejudice, hazarding their popularity axe was put to the root of the institution and their good name with an excited con- It was done boldly, promptly, decisively; stituency, I promise those gentlemen I will and yet, at the moment when we were thus never do them the injustice to doubt the expressing our sympathies and extending our congratulations, the subject when pre-I will pursue this subject no farther. My sented here from a constituency represented

tions of the General Assembly of the State object is to satisfy the Senate, that in what on this floor, was laid upon the table upon of Vermont, on the subject of slavery, which I have said in relation to the cultivation of the question of reception. Now, sir, I find a harmonious spirit, whatever professions I no fault with that disposition of the subject, have made of a disposition to harmonize so long as it is brought here by the officious Mr. Phenrs. After the few remarks the different sections of this Union, and set- fanaticism of people who had better let which I made the other day, I entertained the forever this troublesome question, my it alone. So long as it is the mere topic of the hope that I should not find myself under sincerity is proved by the course I have demagogueism and popular excitement, I only at present of participating any heretofore taken in my action on this floor, care not, if it is presented here in that spir sir, after a hat has fallen from the other side. Senate on the present occasion, is to rindi-subject presents itself now in a different hamber, I feel it due to myself, and case the resolutions presented here from the spirit-it comes to us, as I have already redue to the Stote which I in part represent. State which I in part represent. These marked, maintained and unwelcome. It is have been called upon to "face the ther in the whole entegory of approbrium not get rid of it. The issue is made in re-I have no disposition. Mr. Press- has been bestowed upon them. Sir, I he-spect to these territories, in reference to this would the "facing" of any "marsin" | Leve I can yindicate those resolutions before invitation, and it cannot be evaded. It

home G very month. Sir, marking that the sentiment here expressed of California! She has presented us here tories, that have been conquered by our valare all the area of our ally regarded it as rather common place .- sit, I need not go abroad for material to vin-

for the pied e wine I gave the I felt at liberty to endorse them, although if South. Sir, let me advert to some of the gauge of the resolution to former occasion, that I should I had regarded the resolution as containing opinions of Thomas Jefferson on this sub-

and in political ethics.

demolished it at a single blow. One of the first acts of the French Republic—I speak first acts of the French Republic—I speak to it as it is existing now—was the abolition of this institution totally, universally, at the original property of the size of the

Matchman & State Journal. was willing, if necessary, to make myself a ate act in regard to that matter? Have gen- 1800, another act was passed involving the as to prevent the extension of slavery into an end forever to the question which now which were transmitted from this body to in the business on board those ships were under the jurisdiction of Congress." made liable to a penalty of \$2,000, and im- Now, sir, is not this plain? Can anyhave been attained by the sacrifice of my tion! And have gentlemen forgotten the prisonment for two years. In March, 1807, thing be more plain! It asserts the power the object very cheaply purchased. Sir, that occasion, when we were expressing our tion of slaves into the country after the first of Congress. I regret, sir, that there has when gentlemen from other sections of this gratification, that among the first acis of of January, 1868. The law also provided been this mistake. I regret that this error was a compromise in its terms and a com-Union, when gentlemen from the South will the new government with whom we were that all vessels built and equipped for that has gone abroad. I have seen some notices excited feelings of their constituents and ing our congratulations, was the absolute on the persons engaged in fitting out such the same mistake occurs. The honorable the harmony of this Union—when they, and unqualified execution of a measure average at a fine of \$20,000. The penalty for the importation of slaves in- ed as saying that the resolution contains to the country was imprisonment for not this position, that Congress is restricted more than ten nor less than five years, and only.

a fine of not more than \$10,000 nor less Now, sir, by substituting the present

> which they cannot remede. But, sir, do shows, accompanied by an assertion on the sir, if we of the North let these people asserts on as are going on now; to be made the these considerations render the institution part of the free states of a power to inter- lone and leave them where their own legis- arena upon which this issue is to be tried-this

off the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the considered and this set of the people, and not impose upon the people and not impose upon the p chick we came t avoid; and tion. Sir, when I made the remark, I con-duced. What were the opinions of Wash- to interfere with the institutions of the va- tion of a power that has been exercised evso which we cannot asked; and ton. Str. when I hade the remark, I conducted. What were the equinities of the street the organization of this Governshow to be striked; but have setshow to be striked; but hav thed no man on this floor can non anticipate.

Sir, in approximation, I am specified in approximation of the series of fugitives. Sir, is this a violation of the series of the series of the series of fugitives. Sir, is this a violation of the series of fugitives. Sir, is this a violation of the series of fugitives. Sir, is the series of fugitives. Sir, is

restrained is used in the present tense; it ment, abandoning the construction of the is used in reference to the effect and operation adopted by all the Departion of the Constitution at the time it was incuts of the Government, to place our adopted. Well, sir, is not the assertion time? If the compromises of the constitution and the time it was solved on a more combinable footing by setting. If the compromises of the constitution is not imposed to the constitution of that instrument. If it does not require it, how can they be in fault for not discharging a duty which is not imposed upon them? I am aware, Mr. President, that the complaint goes further. It is said that the complaint goes further. It is said not only that the five states have refused in not only that the five states have refused in the operation of New Mexico and California, which cession conveys the average of the country, which is some that instrument. If it does not require it, how can they be in fault for not discharging a duty which is not imposed upon them? I am aware, Mr. President, that the complaint goes further. It is said not only that the five states have refused in our carrier than a carrier of the country. Now, if we become the capture of the country, which cession conveys the sever-eighty of the country, which cession of New Mexico and California, which cession conveys the sever-eight violation of that instrument. If it does not require it, how can they be in fault for not discharging a duty which is not imposed upon them? I am aware, Mr. President, that the country the country that the country tha question was settled by the old Congress, these territories, and that is the word "adesigned or calculated to defeat this proviscontrol and the provision, the confederation, by a condesigned or calculated to defeat this provision, those laws are clearly unconstitutional,
ion, those laws are clearly unconstitutional,
in the science of Greenment to suppose that
pact which has been regarded from that day

of a power

That is a proposition which may be termed

we may become the depositories of a power to the present as binding upon all. We had resclutions, but there are other neatters no other territory. Where, then, could this which demand of me a passing notice. I at such laws exist, to their own take effect unless it were in the large much, sir, upon this floor, of such laws, it such laws exist, to their own it would require a good deal of metaphysics, I

with slavery in the new States-in the portion of this Union in dissolving its condoption of the constitution. Sir, I repeat, Government of this Union? What are it asserts no such power. What are those those encroachments? When did they states! First, Kentacky and Tennessee, commence! How have they been followed Sir, we all know that those States were a up! Sir, the first time that this question portion, one of Virginia and the other of ever arose, the first time it was ever pro-North Carolina. If the restriction opera-ted in Virginia as she stood at the time of gress, was with reference to the north-west the adoption of the constitution, and upon territories, previous to the passage of the North Carolina, it covered those territories, ordinance of 1787. Sir, in enumeration of So far, then, as new states have been forms of these encroachments of the North, ed out of the limits of the old states, the re- we have been reminded of the exclusion of striction will apply to the new, thus formed slavery from the Northwestern territory, out of the limits of the old.

matter is to be viewed. Those who draughted on slavery, without the pale of our legislation.

forfeiture of all vessels built and equipped territory now free, and to abolish slavery for the purpose, and all persons employed and the slave trade wherever either exists

an act was passed prohibiting the introduc- only in territories subject to the jurisdiction purpose should be forfeited, and the penalty of this resolution in the newspapers in which

The act of 1818 was a sim- tense for the past, the resolutions are made ilar one. In May, 1820, the traffic was pro- to receive a construction which those who nounced piracy, and punished with death. drew them up and those who adopted them Now, sir, is this traffic, which you denom- never imagined would be applied to them. inate piracy and punish with death, to be Upon this error, Mr. President, upon this denominated a crime or not. The expression in this resolution assumes that it is a filled with opprobrious epithets in this hall, crime. If it is no crime, why pronounce it and various comments elsewhere, which I piracy and punish it with death? Sir, I can only characterise as the result, on the am aware that these penalties are directed part of those who uttered them, of their no man will indulge the slightest suspicion to use it. All we ask is that the against the slave trade, and that it is the own hasty misapprehension. If gentlemen importation of slaves which has been made the object of these stringent and severe propagations; but is not the institution itself a perpetuation of the effence against humanity! It originated at the outset is what you if the outset is what you is not the institution of the effence against humanity! It originated at the outset is what you is not the sound purposed with more accuracy the purposed with more accuracy the or that, if it was permitted to find its own way, it would ever find a foothold there.—

Sir, was this an encroachment? Was this transpling on the rights of the South? Sir, it is one of the control of the effence against humanity in which they have indulged.—

The honorable Senator from Arkansas has by the North. Sir, we cll see and feel that it is one of the control of the effence against humanity in which has been made but ascertained with more accuracy the or that, if it was permitted to find its own way, it would ever find a foothold there.—

Sir, was this an encroachment? Sir, if the protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest be required to find a foothold there.—

Sir, was this an encroachment? Sir, if do not understand the meaning of such its one of the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. And, sir, let me protest again, against the idea, or the supplier of the sound purpose. importation of slaves which has been made but ascertained with more accuracy the or that, if it was permitted to find its own tional jurisdiction, shall be guided by the sound to offer some further femarks in vindication resolutions have been the object of no very an introder upon us; but, even though it is deem piracy, and, however long it may con- been exhibiting to us the resolution as conconclintory comment. Almost every epis an intruder, it must be received, for we can time, it particles still of the character of taming the assertion of a power which the

> less oppressive, or more consistent with the lere with this institution in the slave states labour has seen fit to place them, we can deporable controversy about slavery is to be dictates of humanity!
>
> On the Union, Sir, if I were to commend hardly be taxed with encroaching on the carried on. But, sir, it is possible that we may This is not all, Mr. President. In our the honorable Senator to anything, I would rights of the South. treaty with Great Britain, ratified in 1842, commend how to the use of his spectacles we supplied to employ a force on the class: when he reads the resolution again, and I evolution again, and I evolution again, and I be exerted a country, once exerted to conquer these territories; that we are mere proprietors of the land there, and of Africa for the suppression of this slave, thank that he will find that the offensive contions still permitting the traffic, to put an apprehension of his can. Sir, I disclaim be a case calling for the most plain and pale could to it, by closing their markets. It was it, as I have done heretofore; I disclaim public application of the term encroredment. I go Sir, a more egregious encroredment on the by abler, better, and wiser mention it am. Sir, thought to be the next mode of descentage to a department of any people cannot be we possess no power to legislate over these ing this disgusting traffic to close the next further; there is not a mon among my contribute of any people cannot be reither. What do my constituency may pressittanees of ordinary intelligence who does well be tangined than to attempt to impose the interpretation of ordinary intelligence who does well be tangined than to attempt to impose the interpretation of ordinary intelligence who does well be tangened than to attempt to impose They prop so not to open new in re- not understand and feel that this institution upon them an institution offensive to them gia (Mr. Bernen,) regards his constituents to be that the state of the States is beyond the reach of the acthat evel a dip-optic dominal its naturalist not now exist for the fature encouragement tion of this body; it is universally so cou- fundamental law rejected.

ercised by this Government from the be- free states are under no obligation at all to cept it? This question was once a stated.

expired."

Now, it is to be remarked that the word by abandoning the practice of the Government is used in the present tense; it ment, abandoning the construction of the ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions; they are guilty of a construction of New Mexico ply with its requisitions.

States where the institution existed?

It has been said that this resolution asserts the power in Congress to interfere are? Are they such as would justify any and of the limits of the old.

But there is another aspect in which this population who would put an interdect up-

tain that, while these territories remained and it was adopted by the unanimous vote territories, it was competent for Congre- to of the states, including the states of the regulate the subject of slavery within them. South. Now, sir, if this be an encreach-However that may be, when those territo- ment, who is re-ponsible! If a be an ea-The sentiments thus the new states introduced since the a- resentatives of the South in that Congress doption of the constitution have been pla- who sanctioned it by their unanimous vote. ced, by virtue of their sovereignty as states, Sir, are we at the North to be reproached and their exclusive control over the subject, because slavery is excluded from territory, when it turns out that the original projec-Further: the resolutions proceed to tor, and those who adopted it, were the "That the powers conferred upon Congress by the constitution to suppress the what was done with Louisiana? Sir, this slave trade, to regulate commerce between has been done: we have in that territory the states, to govern the territories, and to three slaveholding states-Louisiana, Aradmit new states-powers conferred with an kansas, and Missouri-and but one free

wherever the institution was found it was permitted by that compromise to exist. So far as this species of property had found its way into the territories, so far it was recognised and protected by this compromise; but, sir, by that same compromise it was excluded north of 36 deg. 30 m. Sir, was this an encroachment? Why, sir, it was this an encroachment? Why, sir, it was a compromise in its terms and a comwas a compromise in its terms and a compromise in fact; and will gentlemen assert that a compromise assented to on all sides is to be called an encroachment upon the rights of either party! If a compromise of this description is to be converted into an this description is to be converted into an its beyond the reach of legislation; it is beyond the reach of political power. It is to be met by reason and good sense; combated in some legislation. "encroachment," I confess I know not what meaning to attach to the expression. The next step, sir, was the introduction of Florida, where slavery was permitted to exist. Was that an encroachment? Texas followed. It was permitted there, too. Oregon followed, and there it was excluded, with the concurrence of Southern members, with and all that we propose is to carry out our own and it has been expressed, without equivocation; the concurrence of Southern members, with and all that we propose is to carry out our own

the concurrence of Southern members, with and all that we propose is to carry

What is the encroachment with respect to regret as much as any man to see the counter lineage.

It is of the blood of its own festilation does not claim; and, contrasting lineage.

In the professions of gentlemen of the North, he exclaimed, 'commend me to such concaliation'—conciliation in professions of the professions of gentlemen of the North, he exclaimed, 'commend me to such concaliation'—conciliation in professions of the North lay for the North lay the professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a professions of gentlemen of the institution, and they come to us with a profession of the institution of the in

and of the restriction of the finite states of the aggrandizes country by their predicessors, and tolerated with new is the sentiment of the people of the northern relation to this matter. By treaty with the market in other countries, how can we We assert no such claim. We have no ar
stand aright some of the logic we have liss.

So, let me very concisely express my own the sentiment of the people of the first time, if I underview in relation to this matter. By treaty with the market in other countries, how can we We assert no such claim. We have no ar
stand aright some of the logic we have liss.

France, Louisians was coded to this country; The other day I took the liberty of re-ment of Oregon, and what is the sentiment be justified in opening these namense terri-gament to support a claim which we do not tened to, that these territories are independent of us; we own the land but we have tently with Mexico and California. general sentiment here expressed of California? She has presented us here general sentiment of the civilized a constitution, in which the people nave attribution of the civilized a constitution, in which the people nave attribution of the civilized a constitution, in which the people nave attribution. But, I think proper to make.

Or, as a new market for the introduction of Sir, what else is there in these resolutions? Why, sir, the residue of these resolutions of this species of property?

I think proper to make.

Or, as a new market for the introduction of Sir, what else is there in these resolutions? Why, sir, the residue of these resolutions of this species of property?

I think we are relieved from all responsibilities that was contained as a new market for the introduction of the civilized a constitution. But, this species of property?

Mr. President, the second resolution has, obtained as a new market for the introduction of the civilized a constitution, in which the people nave attributes as there in these resolutions? Why, sir, the residue of these resolutions purely assert the power of Constitutions purely assert the power of Constitutions purely assert the power of Constitutions. them what they have made themselves, a ded to us? The sovereignty of the country.

Well, sir, there is another complaint be necessary to give jurisdiction; but if the Sir, we may be wrong in this aid by their state legislation in carrying out was once

> gress of the age;" we are all a little ambitions to go alead, and the country is afflicted with control to a sovereign state, involves political ten theorems visions 2 strong, based upon the assumption that God in his providence created all things wrong, and the rectongs to the "por grees of the age" in which we live to make all things wrong, and the rectong to the "grees of the age" in which we live to make all things wrong the strong to the law of another Government. It is the highest title known to the law of the strong to the law of the strong to the law of the strong to the law of the gress of the age." In which we live to make all things right. Thus, sir, the institution of slave, by is assumed—the constitution theif is associated. Why, sir, I have had two or three copies of a paper sent accretion to Congress to abregate the constitution. The church two is assumed. There is a form of a position to Congress to abregate the constitution. The church two is assumed. There is a set a my our negative feed as the constitution. The church two is assumed. There is a sect in my own neighborhood who are de- arsenal or a fort, and we then get a more tenantermined to pull down the peliars of the church cy, in the language of the law; a tenancy in fee They have got sick of all religion, and, for aught simple, under the law and jurisdiction of anoth-famor, they will be prepared in the end to discover them food. We have a sect, too, who think mere tenancy, involving no political power; but when our title involves the cannot domain, the termination of as all arong. Man was made to the as the names do, and the very heat disposation of as all would be to turn us into a sheep fold, as we gather our sheep at the nath. Why, sir, I have as fittle patience with this probability, it you call it plotosophy, as any min to the User land and governing the people? The that the first has the change of that pinterspaces, who, starting on the principle that question is asked, whother a mere decision of their Mesce did not understand his basiness, are land gives control over the community within the

> church of God is offensive; and if the agentic ern the people, what becomes of them? So, men could succeed and have their way, we this most result, that if New Mexico and Calimen could succeed any have their way, we this most result, that it New Mexico and Calismonid have, in the funders of time, the perfection of the "progress of the age." But what is ment, their sovereignty is passed to us. If we to be done with these permans? What can you have got no political control in consequence of sedition laws. That experiment has been once fore, adrift: there is no other phrase that will tried. It is not lakely to be repeated soon.—
> What, then, can you do with them? Why, sir, control over them, they have no political organiiet them philosophize; let them shed the light zation. If we have no legislative power over of their peculiar philosophy the world over, and them, they are without law, without government.

the approbation of a Southern President; opinions, as far as we have the power, by regular, ordinary, constitutional action. If it turns law or no law, the institution never could find its way into that territory. Sir, I think consultational power over it, then, sir, we propose that slavery was either desirable in Oregon, Congress upon the matter, within its constitu-Then came New Mexico and California, titude; the question is not to be evaded. Sir, I

Now, sir, the Squator from Arkansas says that I protest against. I have listened to and, like the fil-bred Yankee boy, instead of be-

Constitution restrained the Federal Gerposition; the progress of the times, the sueroment from interference with slavery only in the States in which at their existed,
say, perhaps, the superior knowledge of the
and from interference with the slave trade
only for a limited time, which has long since to other territories than the States where it gislate for these territories be correct, if their aid, but that they have enacted laws then existed, I desire to be informed where the legic is sound and the conclusions right, with a view of defeating this provision of the treaty making power, in the territory is; for at this time we had but there is but one word in the English lanone territory, that of the northwest. The guage which will describe the position of the free states which a view of defeating this provision of the treaty making power enables us to take a one territory, that of the northwest. The guage which will describe the position of the free states which are constitution.

try, and yet cannot exercise the rights belong

Another cause of great complaint is the existence of these incendary publications. Well, Mr. President, it is the medications of our country that we have all a little taste for the "progress of the age;" we are all a little ambittons.

Sir, the cession of a territory or a tract of countries of the age; we are all a little ambittons.

If the meritations of society wrong - the doubter when our title involves the eminent domain, the constructions will scrong. Man was made to very origin of all tenancy and all title, then we

Why, sir, these persons are not satisfied with would not.

With the second are not sale ned with a correcting the mention of the South, they are determined to correct the institutions of the North are effective; political existence, how then are they a North also. Things at the North are effective; political community? They are subject to no the very organization of society is offensive; the control but of this Union, and if we cannot got